The

100 Yen

# ONE KOREA

## Unification: Its Essentials

*and Formulas*

## Future of Unified Korea

*Non-alignment*

## Students Defy Government's

*April Rev. Ceremonies*

## Memorial Services Held

*for Cho Yong-Su*

No. 11

*May 1962*

# *Our Aims and Demands*

*Liberation from Japanese Imperialism did not bring complete freedom and independence to Korea. Instead, the Big Powers of the world split the Korean territory and nation into two countries. And to this day, the Korean people have been suffering for sixteen long years under the most piteous and distressing conditions. Not only have we constantly wandered on the brinks of death, pressed by poverty and oppression, but we at last had to commit the most shameful mistake in our history: Incited by foreign powers, we Koreans engaged ourselves in the horrible task of killing our own brothers during that tragical Korean War. Yet, in spite of all these sufferings and injustices, the Korean people obediently held trust in the good faiths of the Big Powers, and solely believed that they would carve out the future of Korea for us.*

*But today we have finally realized our stupidity. We know well now that we must carve out our own destiny with our own hands, that is, the Korean nation must realize unification of Korea by the nation's own powers if it is willing to live. And the people's uprising in April last year which overthrew that most atrocious government of all times, the Syngman Rhee regime, without borrowing any aid from others, has given us the confidence that we can accomplish this aspiration.*

*We, as members of the Korean nation and campaigners for the unification movement, urged by such consciousness and confidence, propose here that our Independent and Peaceful Unification shall commence by conducting mutual contact and exchange between the North and South Korean people. Whereby, we are sure, brotherly love will be renewed and North and South negotiations invited; thus enabling concrete plans for unification to be worked out. We also believe that the unification must be not only the unification of the Korean territories but also of the divided nation. And in order to reflect the true will of the entire nation on the unification, we call for a Free General Elections to be held throughout North and South Korea; and through these elections, a Unified Central Government shall be established. From these standpoints, we demand:*

1) *To immediately open up exchanges of letters, civilian travel, culture and trade between North and South Korea.*
2) *To convene at once an All-Korea Conference represented by delegates from the Governments, political parties and civil organizations of both Koreas, to study and work out the measures for preparing the All-Korea General Elections and establishing the Unified Central Government.*

*We are convinced that these demands are fully legitimate, equitable and just since they are based on the standpoints of humanity, fundamental rights and the principle of self-determination. Still we cannot ignore the bearings which the Korean Unification problem has on the international relations. Thus emphasizing the original mission of the United Nations; respecting the authority of the 1954 Geneva Conference in which both the North and South Korean Delegations had participated, and acknowledging adoption of the Agreements reached at the said Conference, we request the nations concerned:*

1) *To call as soon as possible an International Conference that shall further the accomplishments of the Political Conference on the Korean Question held at Geneva in 1954, and accelerate the Korean unification by assisting the independent unification movements of the Korean people.*
   *Besides those nations which participated in the 1954 Conference, delegations from the four nations constituting the Korean Armistice Observation Commission (Switzerland, Sweden, Poland and Czechoslavakia) and India shall participate in the proposed Conference.*
2) *All nations participating in this International Conference shall assume the responsibility to secure the peace in the Korean Peninsula and to guarantee the peaceful development of Unified Korea.*
   *In order to secure these guarantees, the United States, the Soviet Union and all other countries shall immediately stop supplying weapons and all other military aids to the present Governments of North and South Korea; shall pledge to assist in the reconstruction of Korea on conditions of non-intervention in her internal affairs and also not to utilize Unified Korea as military bases; and shall recommend immediate membership of Unified Korea to the United Nations.*
3) *The same nations shall also support, when requested, the projects of the Unification Projects Agency which will be established by tne All-Korea Confererecce, and also set up an International Supervision Commission to supervise the All-Korea General Elections which will be administered by the above Agency.*
   *The International Supervision Commission shall be formed by nations that did not participate in the Korean War, but elected by the participating nations in the proposed International Conference and confirmed by the United Nations.*
4) *The foreign armed forces stationed in Korea shall be replaced by International Police Forces ana evacuate Korea as soon as possible.*
   *The International Police Forces shall be organized by troops from nations that did not participate in the Korean War; shall have missions to maintain the peace in Korea and also to secure an atmosphere in which free and fair elections can be enforced; and shall withdraw from Korea when requested by the Unified Korea Government.*

*Unification of Korea is a matter of life and death to the Korean people. No one, no nation should be allowed to bar our way. Therefore, we here appeal to the world to understand and to extend its support to our aims and demands.*

# ONE KOREA

**A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF NEWS AND VIEWS ON KOREAN UNIFICATION MOVEMENTS**

**May 1, 1962 No. 11**


## CONTENTS


Our Aims ..... Coverback

Nuclear Tests and Korean Unification ...(3)

Unification: Its Essentials and Formulas .....(5)

Future Course of Unified Korea .....(19)

Seoul Students Defy Gov't-sponsored April Ceremonies .....(22)

Memorial Services Held for Executed Publisher .....(23)

News of the Month ..... Backcover



*Published Monthly by*

**TONG-IL CHOSEON SHINMOON INC.**

**(Newspaper for Korean Unification)**

Publisher & Editor:
YEE YOUNG KEUN

**1-1 Yotsuya, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo, Japan**

**Tel. Tokyo (341)5849, (351)8213**

**Printed in Japan**


# *Nuclear Tests and Korean Unification*

On April 26, the United States resumed its series of atmospheric nuclear tests in face of the fruitless disarmament talks going on at Geneva. The most preposterous reaction to the tests was the statement made by Chairman Park Chung-Hee of the South Korean military junta. According to the April 27 Hankok Ilbo, he declared that South Korea was "in full support and satisfied" by the tests. Even President Kennedy regretted the United States of being forced into resuming the tests and apologized to the effect that the nuclear blastings were a necessary evil. But another shock was in store: On April 30, the commander in chief of the U.S. Pacific Air Force, Gen. Emmett O'Donnell revealed in Canberra that the United States had nuclear armed aircrafts throughout its Pacific bases including Japan, Korea, Okinawa and the Philippines.

## Full of Dynamite

Some might say that it is absurd to be frightened, since it is, more or less, an open secret that the United States has deployed nuclear weapons at these bases. The anxiety might be dismissed from such view in some areas, but as far as Korea is concerned, the environment and conditions will not permit such optimism; for, rival forces of more than a million men fully armed with thousands of tanks and warplanes are confronting each other at the Demarcation Line with only 4 kilometers between them. The Korean peninsula is thus the world's most dangerous sector highly sensitive to the irritations of the cold war and sinister elements are always there manuevering to aggravate the situation.

So, the impact of the U.S.—Soviet nuclear test race being borne on this sector must be said quite alarming and the deployment of U.S. nuclear armed aircrafts at Korean bases is a matter of the gravest concern. Moreover, U.S. air forces in Korea too were recently reported on the verge of taking off for actual combat when the erroneous alarm was given by the U.S. early warning radar system. The Korean peninsula, therefore, is held in a frightening situation full of dynamite ripe for explosion by one careless step.

## Nuclear Build-up in Violation of Armistice

The bringing of nuclear arms into any part of the Korean peninsula, of course. has been prohibited by the Armistice Agreement signed by the 16 participant nations of the U.N. forces in Korea and the Communists in July 1953. Nevertheless, the United States declared in July 1957 that it would send new equipments including nuclear weapons into Korea as a counter-measure to balance the strengthening done by the Communists on their military personnel and equipments in violation of the Armistice Agreement. And following this declaration, nuclear weapons bases were openly constructed in Korea by the U.S. forces. Still they were limited to tactical weapons along the line of counter-measures for "maintaining balance". But, in time, the United States seems to have deployed nuclear armed warplanes possibly with strategic missions at the Korean bases.

What have the Communists been doing all the while? Although there are no evidences to prove that the North Koreans have armed their forces with nuclear weapons, it can be assumed that they have taken some sort of counter-measure. And since North Korea concluded a mutual defense treaty with Soviet Russia last July, it can be taken for granted that once North Korea recieves nuclear attack, Soviet Russia will come out to retaliate with nuclear bombs.

From this standpoint, it has been feared for many years that once war breaks out in the Korean peninsula, it will far outpass the Korean War in scale and destruction and, this time, not only annihilate the entire Korean nation but immediately spread across the whole of Asia into another world war. Thus Koreans and all peace-loving people of the world have been working hard to eliminate this evident danger to world peace. Still, the threatening situation in the Korean peninsula could not be improved. It just went on aggravating.

## Unification: To Prevent Nuclear Holocaust

Now, is there no drastic way by which to improve this dangerous situation? It is true that the Korean Armistice Agreement signed by the 16 nations on the U.N. side and the 2 nations on the Communist side, failed in bringing real peace to the Korean peninsula. The Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission on Korea could not ease the tensions either. It, however, will be too hasty to conclude that there exists no possible way by which the dangers of war can be eliminated from the Korean peninsula.

Unification of North and South Korea into one Korea has long been believed as the only and best way to wipe out the threats of war from the Korean peninsula; for, it shall disperse the dangerous confrontation of the rival armies and bring along an ultimate peace to Korea. This all-evident fact, however, has been left neglected for 17 long years already and, recently, the Korean question is seldom looked upon as an important issue. This neglect, of course, is because the eyes of the world are focused only on those local areas where guns are smoking or those issues that seem more threatening at surface.

But, the world must note that no other spot on earth is more dangerous than the Korean peninsula charged with the possibility of igniting an all-out nuclear war. We must, therefore conclude that an early and peaceful settlement of the Korean unification question is not only necessary for preventing the outbreak of another Korean War or for safeguarding the survival of the Korean nation but it is also necessary for securing the existence of mankind and the peace of the world. The world therefore, should renew its appraisal of the Korean unification question and work at once to gain its early solution for the sake of ridding itself of a nuclear holocaust.

# UNIFICATION: ITS ESSENTIALS AND FORMULAS

**In our June 1961 inauguration issue, we gave a general introduction to the Korean Unification Question listing its history and elucidating the various unification formulas. The following treatise is a further attempt to get to the bottom of the entangled Question and to explore on the past and future courses of this great life and death problem of all Koreans.**

## I Essentials of Unification

### A. Ambiguity of the Term

**Common Aspiration.** "Unification" has been regarded as the common aspiration of the entire Korean nation. In truth, there is not a single Korean who would say he is against unification. Even the present rulers of North and South Korea who are at variance with each other on all points, emphasize that Korea must be unified. Moreover, not only the United States and Soviet Russia backing these governments but every nation of the world say that an early unification is needed for Korea. Nevertheless, Korea has been kept divided for 17 years without any concrete progress towards unification and some even deny the chances of any early realization of the long-cherished aspiration.

Many reasons have been given for this prolongation of resolving the Korean Unification Question. Some have put up "the antagonistic interests of the North and South Korean governments and, therefore, those of the East and West power blocs" as the main reason. Others have taken the view that: "unification has been obstructed by the mutual distrusts that have grown from the notion that unification is an aggression in disguise." Still, some progress should have been gained in spite of such "antagonistic interests" and "mutual distrusts" since unification has been endorsed and sought for so earnestly and perseveringly. And as time seems to be dimming the chances of unification, there must be something more fundamental than the "antagonistic interests" or "mutual distrusts" that tends to obstruct the way.

**Fundamental Obstacle.** What is this "something more fundamental?" We often observe unification of Korea being looked upon as "Communization" of Korea and feared for that sake. We also hear views which conceive unification as the expansion of the sovereign powers (administrative control to be more exact) of the Republic of Korea into the areas of North Korea. And we see that these divergent views on the term unification and the varying speculations held on unification blocking not only its advance but its very start as well. In other words, we realize that the fundamental cause obstructing the Korean unification is the divergent interpretation of the term unification itself by the parties concerned. So, in order to get the unification wagon rolling, we must, first of all, unify the divergent views on the question "what is unification?" namely, the essentials and contents of unification.

### B. Concepts of Unification

**Three Stages.** When treated in the light of actual practice, Korean unification envisages the following contents:

(1) Firstly, it implies the unification of the Korean territory: that is, Korea

shall become one unified territory through the abolishment of the 38th parallel that divides the north and south areas of Korea and also the military, political and administrative obstacles surrounding that division line.

(2) Secondly, it implies the unification of the two seperate governments: that is, the two governments now ruling over the north and south areas, respectively, shall become one single government whose internal and external functions will be singular.

(3) Thirdly, it implies the unification of two Koreas into one uniform society.

When observed in its process of implementation, these three concepts (stages) of unification will not always come up at the same time. Basically, unification will be realized through the three stages indicated by the three concepts (1), (2) and (3).

The formula that calls for unification through All-Korea (North-South) general elections is a typical example. According to this plan, the 38th parallel will be abolished in order to ensure free elections first, then a central government will be established and lastly the work of unifying the two areas into a uniform society will be carried out by the central government. Another plan is to implement unification through the formation of a coalition government represented by both Koreas. By this plan, the first and second stages will be executed simultaneously, or stage 2 might precede stage 1. The more recent formula presented by North Korea is to begin by establishing a "federation of Koreas." Here the first stage and a part of the second stage will be implemented at the same time.

Following these plans, the implementation of the third stage of unifying Korea into a uniform society will become very late. When unification is discussed, emphasis is usually placed on the first two stages and the last stage tends to be ignored or treated lightly. However, the ultimate unification of Korea will not be realized unless the third stage is implemented. In other words, even if a nominal unified government should be organized, it will not endure without the ultimate unification of the nation completed by the uniformity of the two societies and the Korean peninsula will again be turned into a ferment of civil strife torn into conflicting camps.

## C. Significances of Unification

Now what are the significances of Korean unification envisaging such contents? When considering the significances of unification as the desirable results and impacts of Korean unification, we must observe the problem from the following aspects: the internal or national significances of Korean unification on the one hand and the external or international significances on the other.

### 1. National Significances

**Complete Independence.** First of all, unification of Korea is the basic condition for complete liberation and independence of the Korean nation. The Korean nation was, no doubt, liberated from Japanese colonial rule on Aug. 15, 1945 when the Japanese militarists surrendered to the Allied Forces, and although Korea was divided into two areas of North and South Korea, separate governments were established in the respective areas and received partial international recognitions.

Still, under the present circumstances wherein the governments are tied to rival military alliances and living on foreign assistances, it cannot be claimed that the nation has been completely liberated or gained full independence. The present state is that Korea cannot cut itself loose from the foreign military alliances until it is reunified and complete independence will remain but empty words until the military alliances are abolished. In short, without unification, there can be no liberation or independence of the Korean nation.

**Modernization.** Secondly, Korean unification is the precondition for the modernization of Korea. The most urgent problem confronting the Korean nation today is the modernization of Korea, name-

ly, the economic development and lifting of living standards necessary for the modernization. The present governments of North and South Korea are executing ambitious programs under their respective 7-year and 5-year economic development plans for that purpose. These plans, however can hardly gain their goals since the divided state of Korea limits the utilization of national resources and the North versus South rivalty impose excessive spendings on defense and security purposes. The foreign aids also are being so lavishingly spent on defense that they hardly help the Korean economy in its bid to gain self-sustaining economy. From such circumstances, the modernization of Korea can only be realized through the unification of the north and south areas of Korea into a singular territory.

**Democratization.** Thirdly, unification of Korea is the historical task of democratizing Korea. We often hear voices both at home and abroad raised to the tone that democracy is being nurtured and realized in N. or S. Korea. Such voices however, must be said fanciful optimism, illusioned views unable to grasp the essentials, and fradulent arguments tinged with political manuevering. We must condemn such voices so because in the Korean peninsula where the north and south governments possessing gigantic armies of 450,000 and 650,000 men each are strengthening their respective defense structures and where the compulsory uniformity of thought is enforced in the name of ideological warfare, there exists no grounds whatsoever for the basic freedoms of democracy—freedoms of thought, speech, publication, association etc. to be born and brought up. So, as long as unification of Korea is not attained, democratization of Korea will remain a fantasy.

**Existence of the Nation.** The fourth and most important of all is that unification means to secure the existence of the Korean nation so threatened by immense dangers and also to rectify the distorted sentiments of the nation.

Ever since the "Silla Dynasty" united the three kingdoms of Korea 1,400 years ago, Koreans have lived under one roof of a single nation established within the same borders although she was invaded by Monguls under Kublai Khan in the 13th century and the by the Japanese in the first half of the current century. On Aug. 15, 1945, the Korean nation, not only against its will but by causes which it had nothing to do with, was suddenly and forcibly divided into two countries. The sufferings undergone by Koreans and the heart-wounds inflicted on the nation through this sudden and forceful division, have gone beyond the point of description by words and only imaginable by those who have gone through the experience. The bitterness is incomparable, for, parents and their children, husbands and their wives, brothers and their sisters who have been parted by the division cannot even communicate—less see each other. Koreans were then instigated into the act of unwillingly hate and hurt each other and finally they had to engage in a terrible war of killing their own brothers and reducing four-fifths of the nation to ashes.

Now why must fathers kill their own sons and brothers their brothers in the name of guarding the banners of freedom or for the sake of winning a better life for tomorrow? It is but a hell if the banners of freedom should be hoisted up on top of the hills of Korean skeletons and rainbows of happiness should form over the rivers of Korean blood. Korea, in truth, has been suffering under the agonies of such living hell and to intensify the horror, devilish rampancy is having its way through day and night. Why? There were no faults on the part of the poor and modest Korean nation oppressed so hard and so ceaselessly. Must the Korean nation be left in so miserable a state constantly threatened by death and tormented by utter unhappiness? The conscience and good sense of mankind shall not permit so.

Then what are the means by which the

Korean nation can be relieved from the gnaw of death and also be cured of its wounded-heart? Shall shiploads of wheat flour or modern plants do the trick? Shall nuclear cannons that can annihilate troops by divisions at a time or supersonic warplanes that can pierce the enemy sky do it? No, such cannot satisfy the Korean thirst for human affection or safeguard Korean lives. The only way to deliver the Korean nation from its unfortunate state is unification which shall once and for all rectify the unagreeable environments surrounding Korea.

## 2. International Significances

**Final Settlement of Tangled Issue.** Korean unification which, as we have just observed, is the basic conditions for the Korean nation to safeguard its existence, restore human affections, gain independence and attain social progress, will bear vast effects and impacts on the international relations too. Firstly, Korean unification will go as far back as to resolve one of the most entangled problems connected with the post World War II adjustment and, more recently, will give a final settlement to the Korean War—the biggest international warfare after World War II.

Ever since the termination of World War II, the Korean question has been one of the most (along with the German question) important East-West problems. And as its inevitable consequence, the Korean War ensued. The causes of the war were the split-up occupation of the Korean peninsula by the U.S. and Soviet Russia; the subsequent enforcement of the division policy and intensification of the cold war in defiance of the commitments and spirit of the Allied Powers sung in their Atlantic, Cairo and Potsdam Declarations.

The Korean War brought about by the intensification of the cold war developed into an extensive international warfare directly participated by 19 nations. The war ended in a stalemate with Armistice signed after three years of hostilities but a peace arrangement is still pending and armies totalling a million men are confronting one another at the Armistice line with only 4 kilometers' distance between them.

So the Korean peninsula remains one of the most dangerous points on the earth capable of igniting another international war. The abnormal state requires urgent remedy and realization of Korean unification, the task assigned to the Political Conference agreed in the Armistice Agreement signed in July 1953 is the only way to improve the situation so entangled by the mishandling of the problems of post-war adjustment and also the peaceful settlement of the Korean War.

**Strengthening of World Peace.** Secondly, unification of Korea is one phase of the great work to secure world peace. As stated before, Korean unification will eliminate one of the most dangerous trouble spots of the world through the improvement of the abnormal state in the Korean peninsula.

The notable argument against this view asserts that unification of Korea is not possible until an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence is created by the easing of tensions between the East and West blocs. Despite the earnestness to grasp the real significance of unification, such argument not only hinders the promotion of unification but contains a grave fallacy. It is wrong because Korean unification is not to be gained as a result of the easing of cold war tensions and creation of an atmosphere of peaceful unification, but, is, on the contrary, a drastic step that will induce the easing of cold war tensions and creating an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence instead. And the easing of cold war tensions and creation of an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, on their part, are not to be gained merely by the creation of a favorable environment but through the practical settlement of the international problems that are the real sources of East versus West conflicts. The Korean question, under the present circumstances, is situated in a position best feasible for a complete settlement. (The point is easily

understood when Korea is compared with Germany. While an international agreement on unification through free lections has been reached in the case of Korea, no such primary agreement seems to be in sight for German unification.)

Thus, as long as world peace means the elimination of the dangers of war, easing of cold war tensions and creation of a peaceful coexistence atmosphere, Korean unification will serve and strengthen world peace.

**New World Order.** The effects of Korean unification will not end there. It will contribute to the progress of human society. So, thirdly, unification of Korea will promote the erection of a new world order. The post-war world has been engaged in the work to be build a new international order dedicated to the ideal of maintaining world peace and promoting human welfare under the banners of the United Nations. This new order, as a matter of fact, will not be erected until the world is reorganized based on the principle of national self-determination. As long as the old-fashioned colonial divisionist and suppressive policies have their way and as long as the will of the smaller nations is ignored, permanent peace and happiness of mankind cannot be nurtured. From this viewpoint too, Korean unification which is the actual expression of self-determination, will contribute to the task of building a new world order.

It must be added that the national and international significances of Korean unification are correlated and mutually supplementary as shown in the relation between self-determination and new world order. The characteristic arises from the nature of Korean unification and so it must be said that Korean unification is not only the duty of Koreans but also the common task of mankind.

## D. Characteristics of Unification

**International Problem.** The characteristics of the Korean unification question can be observed by looking into its origin and attributions. The question, by its origin, is an international problem. This question that originated from the division of the Korean peninsula by the United States and Soviet Russia have undergone a lot of twists and turns, notably through such major incidents as the U.S., United Kingdom and U.S.S.R. Tripartite Moscow Conference, U.S.-Soviet Joint Cmomission, presentation of the question to the United Nations by the United States, establishment of seperate governments in North and South Korea, Geneva Political Conference on Korea and return of the question to the United Nations. This history clearly shows that the Korean unification question originated from international agreements that were unreachable to Koreans and, therefore, disregarding the will of the Korean nation. Presently, the question is hung up on the shelves of the United Nations where direct participation is denied to Koreans.

So, the Korean unification question is an international problem from its very starting point and, therefore, an intensely international problem hardly soluble unless international arrangements are made. The question however must not be confused with issues connected with the post-war treatment of the enemy as in the case of the German question. Thus, no restriction may be put on the will and interests of the Korean nation and no arrangement whether made by the United Nations or by parleys of the nations concerned will ever be just unless participated by Korean delegates representing the general interests of the nation.

**Koreans: Subjects.** Secondly, the problem of subjectivety must be raised in correlation to the international characteristic of the Korean unification question. As stated above, Korean unification comprises the safeguarding of the existence, liberation and independence, modernization and democratization of the Korean nation. So, the party directly connected and, therefore,

the executors of the unification naturally is the Korean nation. And by the Korean nation, not one particular side of the nation but the entire 30 million citizens of both Koreas is indicated. Unfortunately, this all too evident fact is being purposely neglected and ignored by certain elements within the Korean nation itself. What is more regrettable is that villainous activities are being shamelessly carried out by particular elements with cunning aims to exclude certain portions of the nation from participating in this great work. And to make things worse, ugly intrigues and manuevers to entrust the most basic decisions of Korean unification to the discretion of other nations are being schemed openly. Such activities, intrigues and maneuvers must, of course, be condemned not only as anti-national but antagonistic to the essentials of Korean unification and, therefore, will only widen the gaps made by the original division of Korea.

Now that we have seen that Koreans are the only direct party concerned and, therefore, the real executors of Korean unification despite its intensely international characteristic, let us next observe the means by which the Korean unification will be implemented.

**Means of Unification.** First of all, unification must be executed through peaceful means. As mentioned above, Korean unification implicates the safeguarding of the existence of the nation through the elimination of the dangers of war from the Korean peninsula and to strengthen the worldpeace by wiping out the trouble spots of the world. In this sense, Korean unification, by nature, must be executed only through peaceful means and though the unification implies the historical tasks of modernizing and democratizing Korea, it cannot be allowed to transform unification into a social struggle that will bring about armed conflicts despite the struggle may be limited to civil strife. Neither will the use of force in the name of "preventive wars" to eliminate the "sources of international conflicts" or to prevent indirect aggression, as some circles advocate, be justified as a means of unification; for priority must always be given to the safeguarding of the existence of the nation.

Secondly, the unification must be realized through democratic means. Korean unification means democratization of the Korean nation: Unification is not to be gained for the sake of a certain individual or a certain class but for the entire nation and, for that account, it must be gained through democratic means wherein the will of the entire Korean nation can be justly reflected. The democratic means, then, must not be those to serve a certain class or limited by particular conditions. The unification must be realized through a typically democratic procedure wherein all adult Koerans, including ordinary as well as political criminals, can express their will freely and secretly.

Lastly, Korean unification must be carried out in accords with the principle of self-determination: that is, by the hands of the Koreans themselves. The eventual goal of Korean unification is not only to gain the liberation and independence of Korea but also the erection of a new world order based on the principle of self-determination. So, it is unallowable to entrust the work of unification to foreign countries even if the step is to be limited to a particular stage of the unification and accelerates the unification.

Self-determination is not the results to be bestowed upon but the process by which the nation gains its goals by deciding things by itself. To say so, however, does not deny the international significances and characteristics of Korean unification. Instead, such will ensure a fuller grasp of the international characteristic of Korean unification. The task of the world, therefore, should be to help and advise the Korean nation to realize swiftly and effectively its work of unification based on self-determination. The Korean nation, on its part, should welcome the support and advices to be given.

# II Formulas for Unification

## Two Main Categories

The formulas for Korean unification can be classified into two main categories of (1) unification through use of force and (2) unification through peaceful means.

**Unification Through Use of Force.** There are two possible plans here. One is the conquering and unifying of the north (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) by the armed forces of the south (Republic of Korea) and the other is the plan in reverse. The former plan was represented by the "March North" plan advocated by the Syngman Rhee regime. The calls by present junta chairman Park Chung-Hee to bring the North Koreans to their knees by strengthening the defense and economic potentials of South Korea falls in the same line in spite of the little difference in nuance.

The latter was represented by the attitude of the North Korean leaders in the early stages of the Korean War when they were about to grasp the whole of South Korea by seizing the last stronghold of South Korea—Pusan. The subsequent calls for "completion of the Korean territory" voiced by the North Koreans were reflexions of the same idea.

These unification plans employing the use of force, however, are no longer worth considering as workable formulas for unification though they may still be attractive to some ruling circles of Korea. These formulas have been scrapped because:

(1) the Korean War that lasted for three years from 1950 to 1953 devastated four-fifths of the nation and killed one-tenth of the population, have made it all clear that unification through the use of force is an utter nuisance and impossibility:

(2) later developments have proven that "unification through the boosting of national (defense and economic) strength" is essentially identical to the unification plan through the use of force and that such plans have, instead of submitting the rivals, only irritated and challenged the other side whereby ensuing ugly conflicts which have plunged the nation into deeper pits of misery.

So, in actual practice, Korean unification must follow peaceful lines. Peaceful formulas are those that drive toward unification only along peaceful procedures agreed by the parties concerned while excluding the use of force and all other pressures.

## Peaceful Formulas

Many peaceful formulas for Korean unification have been presented which can be classified into 4 sub-categories of (1) federation of Koreas (2) coalition government (3) elections only in North Korea and (4) all Korea general elections plan.

**Federation Plan.** This plan calls for the establishment of a "federal body" that will administer singularly such common state functions as diplomacy while maintaining the present administrative functions of the Republic of Korea and Democratic People's Repubic of Korea as they are in their respective areas of South and North Korea. Though the plan does not deny the eventual development of a singular united state, it is built on the concept that uniformity of the two Koreas cannot be gained easily since the differences between the two states have grown too far apart in all respects—politically, economically and socially and also on the premise that the chances for an all-Korea general elections are very slim.

The "federal system" plan presented by North Korea comes under this sub-category. This plan, as a matter of fact, does possess agreeable points and also stresses that the idea is an intermediate measure for bringing about an early all-Korea general elections, but from the fact that the plan was totally ignored by South Korea and the free world as well, its chances of realization must be said very dim for the

time being.

**Coalition Government Plan.** This plan calls for the establishment of a central coalition government represented by a certain number of delegates from North and South Korea. Germans have presented a similar plan as a formula for their unification and North Korea was expected to forward such plan in days before the Korean War but the speculation proved wrong when North Korea agreed to the all-Korea simultaneous general elections at the 1954 Geneva Political Conference.

The coalition government plan, even theoretically, has too many difficulties. Its stumbling blocks are the controversies over the issues of deciding the ratio between the North and South delegates and of the method of selecting the delegates. For this account, the plan is considered less workable than the all-Korea election plan.

**Plan to Hold Elections only in North Korea.** This was the plan insisted by the Syngman Rhee regime and backed by the United States. As the ROK government was established through the May 10, 1948 elections supervised by the United Nations according to the U.N. General Assembly resolution, the advocators of this plan claimed that similar elections should be held in the northern area of Korea "under the supervision of the United Nations" and also that those elected should become members of the ROK National Assembly. This idea is still voiced off and on from tactical standpoints but ever since the all-Korea general elections plan was agreed at the Geneva Political Conference and Syngman Rhee ousted from the ruling chairs of South Korea, the plan has become a target of scorn.

**All-Korea Simultaneous General Elections Plan.** This plan calls for establishment of a unified government through a simultaneous general elections to be held in conformity with an election law common to both areas of Korea. The plan has long been treated as a traitorious idea infringing on the sovereignty of the Republic of Korea. Internationally, however, the plan has been basically agreed by both the East and West camps including South Korea and also the other party concerned, North Korea. Thus, this is the sole plan that is currently being discussed as the workable plan for Korean unification. Such issues as the administration and supervision of elections and withdrawal of foreign armed forces remains to be solved and for that account the plan has been the main factor of putting a stalemate on the Korean unification issue.

Besides the four plans above, there are two more formulas that must be put under the category of peaceful unification plans. One is the "Five-Year Korean Trusteeship Plan decided by the Moscow Foreign Ministers Conference in Dec. 1945 and the other is the neutralization plan.

**Trusteeship Plan.** This plan called for the unification of Korea into one territory through the abolishment of the 38th parallel and setting up of a 5-year Trusteeship of Korea by the 4 powers of U.S., United Kingdom, U.S.S.R. and China and at the termination of the trusteeship, civilian rule was to be turned over to Koreans. This plan might have brought forth an early unification of Korea, but meeting strong opposition by Koreans who were bent on an early independence and following the breakup of the U.S.-Soviet Joint Commission on Korea and the U.S. presentation of the Korean unification question to the United Nations in September 1947, the plan had to be scrapped.

**Neutralization Plan.** Although this plan has not as yet been presented or supported by either governments of Korea or by the United States or Soviet Russia who are considered as the backers of those governments, it has drawn considerable interest and support both at home and abroad. However, this plan which endorses neutralization of the Korean peninsula for the purpose of regulating the antagonistic interests of which the two rival blocs led by the United States and Soviet Russia hold in Korea, is not a direct approach toward uni-

fication but only a step to promote peaceful unification. The plan, therefore, must as yet produce the necessary procedures for unification besides attaining the support of the United States and Soviet Russia for the neutralization of Korea. In actual practice, the plan must look for the concrete procedures and as the all-Korea elections plan is the sole plan providing such procedures agreed on by the two rival parties, we must do further pondering on that plan.

## III Unification Through All-Korea General Elections

Unification through all-Korea general elections comprises the establishment of a unified Korean state having one unified territory, one unified nation and one unified government through the following procedures: the enforcement of general elections simultaneously in both North and South Korea; formation of a national assembly constituted by the representatives elected through the elections; drafting of a new constitution by the unified national assembly; establishment of a unified central government in accords with the new constitution and the absorption of the remaining functions of the North and South Korean governments (to be abolished) into the unified central government.

In actual practice, however, countless arguments both pro and con have been raised as shown at the 1954 Geneva Political Conference and even this plan that seems so faultless have always run up against the wall. This is because those who were in the key position to solve the Korean unification question and also those indirectly concerned with the question always ignored the interests of the Korean nation and by distorting the essentials and ignoring the realities of the Korean unification question, they sought to safeguard their own interests in fear that they might be endangered by the unification. Such arbitrariness of certain circles directly and indirectly connected with the unification issue must not be left at large.

Now, what are the measures to smash such arbitrariness? What are the measures to accelerate the enforcement of the all-Korea general elections on unification? Let us next explore the best workable formula toward this end and also examine the problems that accompany this plan.

### A. Concrete Measure for All-Korea General Elections

**Proposal:** In order to enforce the free general elections to be enforced simultaneously in both North and South Korea for the purpose of establishing a unified national assembly,

(1) an "International Conference of Nations Concerned" approved by the United Nations and participated by the nations concerned with the Korean unification question, shall be convened to organize an "International Supervision Commission" which will effectively and properly assist, administer and supervise the preparation and enforcement of the all-Korea general elections on unification;

(2) the International Supervision Commission shall, with the approval of the United Nations and the International Conference of Nations Concerned, organize and despatch to Korea an "International Security Force" with tasks to maintain the peace in the Korean peninsula and to secure a free atmosphere for the all-Korea general elections on unification and, in the meantime, to confirm the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces including the U.N. Forces now stationed in the Korean peninsula prior to the commencement of the election campaign;

(3) on preparing and enforcing the elections on unification, an "All-Korea Election Administration Committee" shall be organized and established by delegates nominated by the national assemblies of North and South Korea with the tasks to (a) draft a democratic election law based

on the principles of free, secret, universal and proportionate elections; (b) secure a free election atmosphere including free campaigning throughout the entire territory of Korea for all the candidates and their campaigners during the period from the commencement of election campaigning up to the convening of the unified national assembly; and (c) administer the general elections on unification in accords with the election law mentioned in clause (a);

(4) the all-Korea general elections on unification shall be held within six months following the establishment of the International Supervision Commission mentioned in paragraph (1);

(5) the unified national assembly shall be convened in Seoul within one month after the unification elections.

Among the various major points listed in the 5 paragraphs above, international agreement has already been reached on paragraphs (3), (4) and (5) including the grand premise of holding a general elections on unification. So, the remaining points in this draft plan pending international agreement are the 3 issues of election supervision, election administration and withdrawal of foreign armed forces.

## B. Points at Issue and Their Solution

**Election Supervision Issue.** This problem has been called the biggest stumbling block to Korean unification. Ever since the Geneva Political Conference up to this day, the East and West have persisted in their rival formulas and the issue has been deadlocked in a stalemate. The plan of the 16 participant nations in the U.N. forces in Korea is to place the elections under the supervision of the United Nations; while that of the Communists is to supervise the elections by a "Neutral Nations Supervision Commission." The United Nations side claimed that the elections should be held under the supervision of the United Nations since the Korean question is being discussed at the United Nations and also because the United Nations is the most desirable ground to solve such problems. The Communist side contended that the United Nations mentioned by the 16 participant nations was but an opponent in the Korean War and as elections supervised by a body sent by that United Nations will not be fair, they asserted that the most proper plan is to have a supervision commission composed of neutral nations that did not participate in the Korean War, supervise the elections.

The difference here can be fully adjusted by employing the International Supervison Commission plan approved by the United Nations and constituted by nations to be nominated by the International Conference of Nations Concerned. By this plan, the prestige of the United Nations will be saved and fair elections secured in the actual elections. There also can be no opposition to this International Supervision Commission desirably to be formed by India, Sweden, Switzerland, Czechoslavakia and Poland with India acting as chairman in view of the success shown by the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission in its work of exchanging POW's of the Korean War.

**Election Administration Issue.** According to the proposal presented by the South Korean delegation to the Geneva Political Conference with the approval of the 16 participant U.N. nations, the elections are to be enforced in accords with the procedures defined in the ROK Constitution (ROK proposal, par 14, clause 2). The Communist proposal presented to the same conference requested preparation for the elections by an "All-Korea Committee" organized by delegates from both Koreas (Soviet proposal, June 5, 1953).

The ROK proposal must be denounced as quite unreasonable, for it goes against the spirit of unification in requesting enforcement of the elections in accords with the procedures of the ROK Constitution which shall be abolished through that election. In contrast, the Communist proposal seems reasonable enough and the projected All-Korea Committee is agreeable as an elec-

tion administration body. Some circles, however, are against an election administration body constituted by Koreans and request organizing an international administration body instead, but such is not only an impossibility but an absurd argument completely neglecting the principle of self-determination.

**Withdrawal of Foreign Armed Forces.** This is the most controversial among the unsettled issues. At the Geneva Political Conference, the U.N. side demanded (1) complete withdrawal of Chinese Communist forces from Korea one month in advance of the election day (ROK proposal, par. 14, clause 12) and promised that (2) the United Nations forces in Korea will withdraw after effective control is established by the unified Korean government over the whole of Korea and such control confirmed by the United Nations. The Communist, on their part, did not budge in their stand requesting the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from Korea prior to the commencement of the elections (Soviet proposal, June 5, 1953).

After the unilateral withdrawal of Communist Chinese forces from North Korea in 1958, the issue has concerned only the withdrawal of the U.N. forces stationed in Korea. It is an absolute necessity that the U.N. forces withdraw from Korea in order to enforce the unification elections in a free and fair atmosphere. Still, there might be dangers of the peace in Korea and the free atmosphere for the elections being impaired since gigantic armies of North and South Korea will remain. So, it will also be necessary to organize and despatch to Korea an International Security Force constituted by troops provided by nations that did not participate in the Korean War.

## IV Obstacles to Unification

As shown above, it is quite possible to work out reasonable and concrete measures to enforce the elections on Korean unification and also to adjust the differences in views between the Free and Communist camps in relation to the measures of enforcing the elections. Nevertheless, no progress seems to have been gained toward the actual enforcement of the elections. What are the obstacles that are barring the enforcement of the elections? Let us next examine the various arguments and views that have tended to work as factors obstructing the advance of Korean unification.

**Priority on Strategic Value.** This argument claims that: "The strategic value of the Korean peninsula is big today since the world is enwrapped in a bitter cold war. For that account, it would be foolish to turn the entire Korean peninsula over to the enemy. And as long as such anxiety remains, we must oppose to the unification of Korea and secure our half of the peninsula."

Such argument, of course, has never been raised openly by the authorities of either Koreas or by either camps of East and West, but this notion is considered as the one actual cause obstructing the unification of Korea and the grounds for those who advocate neutralization of Korea. In terms of missile age strategy, this argument is obsolete. It is also an excessive alarmism to fear such outcome from the elections since unified Korea will never incline to one particular side. Still, if a guarantee is needed to assure that unified Korea shall not incline to one side, neutralization of Korea in the Austrian fashion can be considered. So, we must say that those who obstruct the unification of Korea by persisting in giving priority to the strategic value of the Korean peninsula, are not only the enemies of the Korean nation but also the public enemies of mankind itself.

**Priority on U.N. Authority.** There can be no opposition against the argument raised by the United States and other par-

ticipant nations in the U.N. forces in Korea, demanding that the unification of Korea must be implemented along the line respecting the authority and competence of the United Nations in dealing with the question. The Communists will not oppose this line, for Soviet Russia is a powerful member of the world organization, the Chinese Communists are eager to become a member of the U.N. and North Korea has expressed its respect for the authority of the U.N. in the preamble of the North Korean-Soviet Russia mutual defense pact signed last July 6.

The United States, however, has forced on the U.N. an interpretation that the respect for the U.N. authority must be shown through the approval of all the past U.N. resolutions and decisions on Korea, and such conditions were placed on the invitation sent to North Korea to participate in the U.N. debate on Korea which, of course, met with violent Communist condemnation.

Now, the problem here is whether such attitude of the United States would boost the authority of the United Nations or not. As a part of the U.N. resolutions on Korea violates the United Nations Charter and contradiction is seen among the U.N. resolutions onKorea; and especially as the United Nations side unilaterally broke up, in violation of the Korean Armistice Agreement, the talks at the Geneva Political Conference convened in accords with the Armistice approved by the U.N. (see One Korea, Oct. 1961 issue), the authority of the United Nations will be undermined if the United States should go on persisting in its argument. So, if the authority of the U.N. is to be boosted in relation to the unification of Korea it is best that the unification be sped up.

**Adherence to ROK Sovereignty.** This argument asserts that unification of Korea must be the expansion of ROK sovereignty into North Korea since the ROK government is the only legal government of all-Korea and rejects the existence of the North Korean government and establishment of a unified national assembly and unified central government of Korea through an all-Korea general elections since such would deny the sovereignty of the Republic of Korea.

This was the major argument voiced in South Korea during the days of Syngman Rhee and provided the grounds for such unification plans as those by marching north" and "holding elections only in North Korea." It was also used as an instrument to suppress the peaceful unification movement symbolized by the murder of Cho Bong-Am, its powerful leader.

This argument is a product of ignorance blind to the fundamental principles of this age where sovereignty belongs to the people and also the functions of a democratic constitution. The sovereignty of the Republic of Korea which belongs only to the Korean people and not to the state nor its rulers, will be expanded, instead of being extinguished, when the Republic is unified into one whole Korea. And on establishing a unified central government, the abolishment of the existing constitutions and governments will be done legally in accords with constitutional procedures. So, we no longer hear this wild argument being voiced in Korea.

**Unification through Anti-Communism.** This is the unification design of the present ROK militarists. Their commitment is that unification of Korea will be won through the strengthening of the anti-Communist posture of South Korea.

Peaceful unification means unification through all-Korea elections and in order to hold such elections, one must naturally confer with the North Korean Communists despite the differences in political ideas and also prepare, enforce and participate together in the elections.

The argument of the militarists which forbids such contacts with the Communists, therefore, is against peaceful unification and akin to the unification plans through the use of force or through "bloodless conquer." There are no chances of such plans to succeed today and this unification idea through the strengthening of

anti-Communism fully reveals the sinister intrigue of these power-hungry militarists scheming to perpetuate the division of Korea.

**Priority on Democratization of South Korea.** This was the voice of self-styled ROK democrats and part of the peaceful unificationists up to the military coup last May. They stressed that South Korea should first build up a powerful democracy, then urge North Korea to do the same and when both are ready, hold an all-Korea general elections on unification.

This argument may have helped in creating an atmosphere to unfold a peaceful unification movement even under the Rhee rule, but in South Korea where democratization is impossible unless unification is gained, it will only prolong the implementation of unification through the reversing of order of things.

**Development First, then Unification.** This is another argument being clamorously voiced by ROK militarists. It calls for developing the economy first, and once South Korea becomes stronger than North Korea, unification will be proposed to the people of North Korea who will naturally welcome it.

The plan is fantastic because it neglects the reality in South Korea where tremendous spendings on defense render it impossible to develop the economy or gain economic growth. It is also a self-centered dogma based on the assumption that North Korea will be sleeping all the while South Korea develops its economy. And its worst point is that the idea will be ill-used as a pretext to prolong unification.

**Nurturing the Elite.** This is the idea of the present day intellectuals of South Korea. Their argument is that South Korea should not agree to unification until a democratic elite which can cope, both in number and quality, with the North Korean Communists (the North Korean Workers' Party to be exact) is nurtured in South Korea. This vague idealism is ambiguous even to its basic points such as the level of the number and quality of the elite. Still, the argument is thought to carry considerable weight being endorsed by professors and men of culture through influential literary magazines.

Nevertheless, it is but a petty struggle by a portion of the intellectuals trying to maintain their empty previleges by hitching their destiny to the anti-Communist bandwagon of the ROK governments and, for that account, the idea is blocking the way to unification which must be realized through the accumulated expression of the energies of the Korean masses.

**Responsibilities of the Korean War.** This argument contends that prior to the unification, the responsibilities of the Korean War must be pursued and demands that the war criminals must excluded from the elections on unification. This was the voice of South Korean rightists but the argument attracted special attention when the Socialist Popular Party of South Korea endorsed the same policy in its election platform in the July 1960 elections.

For a progressive political organization whose prime task is unification, to carry such a policy in its platform was highly improper regardless of the fact that the majority of the nation had still nested fierce indignations toward the North Korean Communists for provoking the Korean War. Though it may be clear that the North Korean Communists were responsible for igniting the war, still to put that against them today when the North Koreans have agreed to the unification elections, will only win their repulsion and therefore block the way to unification. Furthermore, the only way to pursue the responsibilities of the Korean War is through the unfication elections.

**Expansion of Unification Bases.** This has been a sort of catch phrase of the North Koreans. The argument is that the development of North Korea must be accelerated and expanded so as to realize unification. This slogan has helped in speeding up the economic development of North Korea and it may be admitted that the ac-

complishments in North Korea has given confidence to the entire Korean nation of its capabilities.

This argument, in stressing the absolute necessity of economic development in North Korea as the premise to unification, will, however, be transformed into the reasoning that unification will be impossible until economic development is completed in North Korea as in the case of the "development first, then unification" plan of South Korea. And especially, the tendency in North Korea to conceal the unbalanced feature of its economy and only publicize its accomplishments has come to buy the repulsion of South Koreans which is proof that the idea involves dangers of widening the gap between north and south.

**Completion of the Korean Territory.** This call was voiced by North Koreans at the time when the plan to "march north" was the fashion in South Korea. Against the South Korean call to recover the lost territories of South Korea extending to the Yalu and Tumen Rivers, the North Koreans retaliated with the call to "liberate" Korea as far as to the southern most island of Jeju for the purpose of completing the territory of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Such, no doubt, was the product of the Korean War and, fortunately, it faded away in front of the subsequent calls for peaceful unication supported by the North Koreans too. Still, there might be some dogmatic Communists nursing such thoughts. So it requires special caution not to let such argument gain strength again.

**Adherence to Anti-American Struggle.** This is the voice that has gained strength in North Korea following the military takeover in South Korea. The full import of the policy was unfolded in the Declaration on Unification issued by the 4th Congress of the North Korean Workers' Party last Sept. (see One Korea, Nov. 1961 issue), and constitutes the major tone of the present North Korean propaganda towards South Koreans.

The North Koreans called on the South Koreans to arise in an all-out anti-American and anti-imperialist struggle by organizing a massive people's united front with the working class as spearheads and workers-farmers alliance as core units. This argument may be agreeable from the standpoint of revolution for national liberation, but when the realities of South Korea is taken into consideration, it must be said too fantastic.

As far as South Korea is concerned, there exists no conscious workers' organization that can lead such struggles nor is it possible that any such organization might emerge in any near future. All there is in South Korea are rotten and patronized labor unions which have only blown trumpets for the government.

Thus this North Korean call placing emphasis on the working forces imply dangers of destructing the formation of a united front for unification and also undermining the pride and courage of ROK students who have been the most daring units of the unification movement.

Another notable point here is that, in stressing the anti-American struggle, this argument might scare away those who are working vigorously in the direction to find a compromise between the two rival camps of East and West with hopes that should reconciliation be made that would accelerate the unification of Korea. And if the notion that unification is impossible unless the United States is turned out of Korea should spread, that would produce a discouraging atmosphere abandoning unification as hopeless.

## V Proposals for Promoting Unification

Such arguments, voices and ideas on Korean unification have been deeply nested in the minds of Koreans and have borne vast

*(Continued on Page 23)*

# Future Course of Unified Korea

**Where will unified Korea go after the unification? Will it side with any particular power bloc? What sort of political system and external policy will it adopt? These questions are to be decided by the Korean people but the main course is already set.**

## Concerns and Fears

As we have seen in the foregoing article, the unification of Korea will be realized through the enforcement of an all-Korea general elections. As its ultimate result, a unified central government will be established. Whether this government will align with any particular power bloc and what sort of political system it will adopt are matters of great concern not only to the world but the Korean nation as well. Such concerns at times are turned into fears. And these fears are being ill-used as tools to prolong and obstruct unification. So, we must, here analyze, and examine these fears so as to expose and disperse them for making the way clear to unification.

## Unification: Communization of Korea?

The first fear that arises from unification is: will it invite the Communization of the whole of Korea? This fear, of course, is held by the free world and it arises from the following view and appraisal of the realities in Korea:

(1) North Korea solidified around the Communist regime is superior to South Korea in terms of organized and economic strength.

(2) South Korea has barely begun its economic development and it is not organized.

(3) So, if all-Korea general elections on unification should be held now, North Korea will emerge as victors.

Such view and appraisal, however, are fallacious from the following reasons:

(1) Firstly, the judgment is based on an illusion. The people of North and South Korea are not going to choose between the two present governments of Korea. All the politicians of both Koreas including those having no connection with or even against the governments are going to be allowed to enter the elections and the outlook is that the opposition is going to come out as overwhelming victors.

(2) Secondly, an overestimate has been done on the national (economic) strength of North Korea and also the organized power of North Korean Communists. The North Koreans have announced big figures indicating the accomplishments in the heavy industries etc. and the North Korean Workers' Party boasts a membership of over 1,310,000 (1,166,359 fullmembers and 145,244 candidates as of 1961).

But, essentially, North Korea has done only 8 years of economic construction since it was reduced to ashes by the Korean War and, during the period, North Korea had to shoulder the tremendous burden of maintaining and arming its giant army of nearly 450,000 men. So much could not have been accomplished. Economic development cannot be produced by magic or propaganda. To fear the national (economic) strength of North Korea is therefore an illusioned estimate.

Now take the North Korean 1962 National Budget for example. The expenditures are estimated at 2,811 million won (about 1.2 billion dollars) which is about 50% over that of the 1962 ROK National Budget. But, as the budget includes the appropriations for individual enterprises in free societies, this figure does not show the North Korean superiority over South Korea. Moreover, the unbalanced feature of North Korean economy is its weak point.

As too much emphasis is put on the basic industries especially on heavy industries, the consumers' side of economic life is being badly neglected. Austerity has been imposed on the nation for a long time and evidences show that the North Korean public is bearing discontent toward their government.

This discontent will most likely spread into the rank and file of the Workers' Party too. And it is also possible that the Workers' Party brought up in a hotbed secluded from the world, might start falling apart once it is thrown out into the open air to race in the unification elections.

(3) Thirdly, a correct grasp of the situation in South Korea is wanted. It is true that the life of ordinary citizens of South Korea has been bankrupt due to the reckless defense policies and mal-administration of the ROK governments since the Korean War. It is also true that the majority of the South Korean people have fallen into deep despair. Still, the situation does not indicate that the nation will run toward Communism. South Koreans, on the contrary, have nursed deeply in their souls fierce hatred toward Communism. Anti-Communism has become a habit of South Koreans reared so long under anti-Communist policies from Japanese imperialists to this day. The deep wounds of the Korean War, that still move South Koreans to condemn the North Koreans as aggressors, remain in various places of the country and also in the heart of the nation.

(4) Lastly, when a society is Communized (excepting cases by armed occupation), the major condition, generally, is not the impoverishment of the majority of the society's constituents. There must exist powerful organizations of conscious laborers to spearhead the Communization. As of Sept. 1961, there were only 128,000 organized labor in South Korea, so the condition in South Korea is quite far from ready for Communization. This figure further indicates that the Communists could hardly come out as victors in the unification elections despite that the walls between North and South Korea will be brought down and Communist activities permitted throughout the land.

## Prolongation of Elections: Disadvantageous to Free World

As observed above, it is groundless to fear that the elections for unification will invite Communization of the entire Korean peninsula. The expression of such fears by the Free World will only inflict damages on itself; for, to hold such fears is to admit in advance that the Free World does not have a chance in winning in the election race to be run in accords with the rules of "free elections", so desirous to the Free World and also by pitting the Free World's political system and mode of life against those of the Communist world. Such defeatism will only give the impression of Communist superiority to the people of North and South Korea.

So, it would be best that the Free World get rid of its useless fears at once and, by realizing the fact that the more the unification elections are prolonged the more disadvantageous it would become to the Free World, push ahead the enforcement of the unfication elections.

## Instinctive Repulsion Against Foreign Powers

The next fear is: which camp will unified Korea side with? This anxiety is held by both East and West camps; while the two governments of Korea are nursing their respective speculations. This fear tends to make the side less confident in winning in the race, sabotage the progress of unification.

But, this fear is based on an illusion too; for, first of all, the Korean nation once placed in a position to decide its own external policy by its own free will will never align itself with any particular power or power bloc.

The Korean nation throughout its history, has been constantly invaded by foreign countries and preyed on by big powers. And since mid-19th century, Korea became the battlegrounds of international

power-conflicts and she was finally reduced to a colonial state wherein Koreans had to suffer under suppression, poverty and stagnation while other nations developed themselves into modern countries. The situation did not change after the Liberation on Aug. 15, 1945. The territory and nation was split into two and Korea became the confrontation line of the two mightiest rivals on earth which at last invited that terrible Korean War that brought unprecedented destruction to the land.

The history of the Korean nation is a history of suffering. Koreans have learned many a lesson. They have learned not to be drawn ever again into the conflicts of big powers nor let the land become the battleground of international conflicts. The repulsion which Koreans feel toward the big powers has become instinctive. So, it must be reiterated that the Koreans will never side with any particular power bloc.

Secondly, the unified Korean government will never be controlled by characters who will serve as agents of foreign powers. There have been such characters in the past: Lee Wan-Yong and his men sold the nation to the Japanese imperialists. And there exists some today: Those clinging to the ruling powers of South Korea are being backed by foreign powers. But it must be noted here that the reason why such traitors had and are having their way is because the majority of the Korean nation was not in a position to decide their own destiny. Since the nation will select a government according to its own will in the coming unification elections there exists no possibility of such anti-national elements emerging on the ruling scene.

## Future Political System and External Policy

What will be the form of political system and what sort of external policy will unified Korea adopt? Such matters, of course, will be decided by the majority of the Korean nation when it goes to the polls, and no decision or restriction can be put on these matters in beforehand. However, we can, with conviction, predict the main direction that will be taken:

(1) Unified Korea will not adopt a Communist system nor a laissezfaire capitalist system. It will not allow gulf to develop between the rich and the poor or let social injustice arise within the nation. And in order to overcome the underdeveloped state, priority will be given to the work of accumulating the powers of the nation; while the basic conditions of democracy will be established through the guarantee of the freedoms of thought, speech, publication, association, belief and also through assurance of the rights to vote for all adults in order to eliminate the relics of feudalism.

(2) Unified Korea will hold steadfast to its absolute and complete independence and for this end,it will not allow any foreign military base within its territory or join any military alliance or economic bloc.

(3) Unified Korea will promote good neighbor policy with all nations of the world that will reciprocate by supporting and assisting that policy of Korea. And in order to hold steadfast to this basic external policy and to strengthen the peace in Asia, Unified Korea will establish friendly relations with those Asian countries taking the same policy, namely Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Nepal and Laos which will become a neutral nation before long. And when Vietnam is unified through the same formula as Korea, unified Korea will, along with these countries, work to root out the "sources of world conflicts."

**Request**

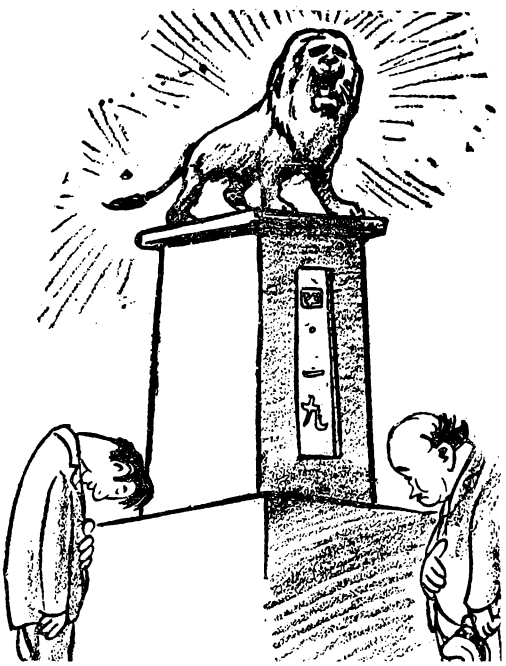
One Korea wishes to exchange publications and also welcomes articles on Korea Question.

# Seoul Students Defy Gov't-sponsored April Rev. Ceremonies

As expected, commotions were stirred on the 2nd anniversary of the April Revolution. Defying orders, Seoul University students staged an open demonstration against the military regime. The student body of the university boycotting the government-sponsored ceremonies, had their own plans of celebration, but the police authorities gave orders of suspension. Nevertheless, the students went through with the planned ceremonies on April 19th, and a spirited declaration noting the heroic deeds of the April heroes and pledging to ring anew the bells of freedom was issued in roundabout challenge to the militarists.

A "silent demonstration" by the entire stundent body was scheduled too but this was stopped by the police. In its place, a token group of 6 students were permitted to "demonstrate" and these 6 students, with mourning ribbons on their chests, retread the course the student demonstrators marched on that violent day two years ago.

Meanwhile, government-sponsored ceremonies were held in 10 major cities including Seoul, Pusan etc. 40,000 junior and high school students were mobilized by the authorities to attend the central ceremony in Seoul where Chairman Park Chung-Hee praised the works of the revolution. The emotionless festivities were reported as sharply contrasting to those of last year when persons of all walks of life from the prime minister to shoeshine boys gathered to celebrate the great day and honor the heroic dead.



**Monument to April Heroes:**
*Are you self-criticizing, generals?*
(the characters on the monument are 4.19 denoting the April Revolution)
Chosun Ilbo, April 20, 1962

## Statement

*Issued by Seoul Univ. students*

Today we have gathered here at the plaza (where April heroes fell) with great pride and emotion. Oh, April 19th! That bloody day on which the calls of justice to safeguard democracy erupted into a furious volcano, and enfuriated citizens made their protests!

Oh, dear friends! Let us not forget those promises we made on that memorable day on which we rejoiced over our victory and cried over the bodies of our dead friends.

The April Revolution is our heritage and creation. We remain silent today in preparation for tomorrow's creation. The silence of conscience is the wisdom of learning and the citadel to safeguard our heritage. And today, we pledge ourselves as the righteous guardians of the pathetic heritage and declare that we will ring the bells of freedom to echo far and wide once more.

# Memorial Services Held for Executed Publisher

Memorial services were held on April 30 for the late Cho Yong-Su, executed publisher of the Seoul progressive daily Minjok Ilbo, at the National Railway Union Hall in Tokyo. The International Journalists Award was also presented posthumously to the publisher at the services.

Over six hundred local Koreans and Japanese politicians, journalists and literary men attended the services which was the first of its kind held either in Korea or Japan due to the militarists' ban put on funerals and memorial services for those executed by the military government.

Some 40 bouquet of flowers were presented by various Korean and Japanese organizations to adorn the alter where a large portrait of the late publisher rested and the attendants paid homage to the deceased journalist who died last Dec. 21 at the hands of the militarists.

Yoko Matsuoka and Jun Takami, members of the Japan PEN, were among the notable attendants.

*Top: Portrait of Cho Yong-Su decked with bouquets.*
*Below: Attendants at memorial services.*

## Unification *(Continued from Page 18)*

effects internationally. The harm done on Korean unification is immense. So it is our duty to reject such fallacious arguments and ideas and to attain a correct grasp of the question. And in order to push ahead the work of peaceful unification, we must work out the most effective projects toward the end. The following should be our biggest present tasks to promote the unification of Korea:

**1. Bring down the ROK military government which is suppressing the unification movement in South Korea and thus obstructing the unification of Korea.**

**2. Surmount all the barriers and difficulties to push forward the contacts and exchanges between the North and South areas (right and left) of Korea.**

**3. Enlighten the world to gain a correct grasp of the Korean unification movement and to convene an "International Conference of Nations Concerned" to settle the Korean unification question inheriting the accomplishments of the 1954 Geneva Political Conference on Korea.**

**4. Replace the United Nations Forces stationed in Korea with an "International Security Force."**

**5. Smash the sinister designs of the foreign powers scheming to utilize the divided state of Korea.**

# NEWS OF THE MONTH April 15 to 30

## 307 more Ex-politicos to be Purged

On April 15, the military junta announced 307 more ex-politicians liable for purge under the Political Activities Purification Law. This brought the total on the black lists to 4,374 persons (excluding 212 deceased and overlappings). Of the 307 added, 84 belonged to the Democratic Party; 61, New Democratic Party; 54 ,Reformist Party; 108, "persons responsible for corrupt politics" and 1, "counter revolutionary." Leaders of progressive social organizations including journalists and scholars occupied bulk of the 108 to be purged under the category of "persons responsible for corrupt politics."

## Foremost Unification Leader, Su Sang-Il Dies

On April 18, 76-year-old progressive leader Su Sang-Il passed away at his Seoul residence. The colorful patriot and politician had been under medical care after being released from prison on probation from 5 years' sentence passed on him by the Revolutionary Court. Su began his career as an independence-fighter, was jailed many times by the Japanese for that sake and also spent years in China and Russia. After Liberation, he formed the Korean Democratic Party and elected to the 1st National Assembly, served in drafting the Constitution acting as chairman of the drafting committee. He joined the progressive camp after being jailed in connection with an assasination plot of Syngman Rhee and worked in mergering the progressives under the Socialist Popular Party on which ticket he was elected to the National Assembly in 1960 and thereafter gave all he had to the peaceful unification movement until the militarists emerged. Thus the nation has lost another irreplaceable patriot.

## Newsmen Arrested for Reporting on Hoodlums

On April 20, the Kyonggi-do provincial police arrested the city editor of the Hankook Ilbo, Lee Mok-U and also its cameraman Chung Bum-Tae in connection with the daily's report on a molesting done by hoodlums to tourists at the Chundung Temple in the Kangwa-do Island. Lee and Chung was suspected of violating the Anti-Communist Law, the Special Crimes Punishment Law and the libel provision of the Criminal Code. Chung reported that excursion parties including one of U.S. soldiers were disturbed by a group of hoodlums on the island. The islanders testified that the hoodlums were a constant menace to tourists visiting the temple. Still, the police denied there were hoodlums and charged Chung of causing "social unrest through falsified reports" and "defaming the military government which has wiped out hoodlums from the country."

## Militarists Prohibit Formation of Newspapermen's Association

On April 25, the military government spokesman issued a statement which prohibited formation of the projected Korean Newspapermen's Association. The association was scheduled to be inaugurated on the 24th but had to postpon the inauguration ceremony since the police did not give permission for the gathering. The association's aims are to improve Korean journalism as well as seek the improvement of newsmen's living standards. The government gave "public distrust toward presses" as the reason to prohibit the formation but observers view the measure as a reflexion of the militarists' grudge towards the uncooperating attitude of ROK prseses.